

An Analysis of Gender Justice in the Political Structure of Islamic Republic of Iran: 1997-2006

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Abstract

Objective: The main purpose of this article is to explain how gender justice works in government and executive institutions of the Islamic Republic of Iran and seeks to answer this question: what are the main challenges of government and executive institutions in relation to gender justice?

Method: The method used in this study is descriptive- analytical based on Institutional theory utilizing documentary and library data to answer the main research question.

Result: The results indicate that dual sources of legitimacy and legal barriers are major challenges of the government in dealing with gender justice.

Finding: Findings of this article declares that in the study of gender justice in the 5 sections, namely, government attitudes, laws, decrees, regulations and development programs, the signs of justice are mixed with the signs of gender justice in order to create a positive feeling in the performance of government. However, in practice, there has been no significant relationship between gender Justice and the general orientation of government and executive institutions, which indicates the weak and unacceptable approach of this period at the macro level.


Keywords: Justice, Gender Justice, Government Institution, Executive Institution.

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1. Introduction

Gender justice helps achieve both equity (equal distribution of resources, access, and opportunities) and equality (equal outcomes for all). Discrimination against women is more pronounced in countries where Islam is the source of legislation. However, constitutions have changed in some Muslim countries since 1980(Gouda Potrafke, 2016:14).

This approach has attracted the attention of some governments in Islamic countries and has been used internationally for more than two decades. Organizing the process of gender equality in various forms has been one of their most important goals, and they have always tried to promote their preferred position of equality to support social justice (Azmoodeh, 2019). Gender and Equality in Muslim Family Law offers a ground-breaking analysis of family law, based on fieldwork in family courts, and illuminated by insights from distinguished clerics and scholars of Islam, as well as by the experience of human rights and women's rights activists (Larsen, 2013:83).

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, efforts have been made to ensure fair treatment of women and opportunity for their equality with men. The Charter of Women's Rights and Responsibilities, approved by the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution in 2004, is one of the first documents to explain women's rights and the need for gender justice, as well as the need to use quantitative indicators in the executive branch. The presentation of women to the Islamic Consultative Assembly also shows the importance of the issue and the efforts made in the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran. However, the second round of Ahmadinejad's government is characterized as promoting a gender discriminatory agenda attempted to marginalize women in various political and social spheres (Roshandel, 2019:37-40).

Given that equality is formed in the form of institution, the governmental institutions approach is considered one of the main mechanisms. The establishment of justice has been one of the goals of the government in the contemporary history of Iran, especially in the post-revolutionary period, and organizing gender justice in a favorable manner has always been one of the goals of the government. Despite being familiar with this role of the government in organizing gender justice, it is not clear how this was done in the governing and executive institutions and what is the approach of the executive and governing institutions towards the performance of gender justice. For more information on how gender justice is administered in the Islamic Republic of Iran from 1997 to 2013, the attitudes and policies of decision makers, the Constitution, the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution, executive approvals, bylaws, and development programs have been analyzed because the approach of the executive body can be considered the most prominent aspect of the government's efforts to organize the process of gender justice. Such research is important from the perspective that it can help policymakers to improve policies as well as better implementation processes (Rahmati far, 2021: 330-334).

When the executive branch of the government changes and the new presidency begins, apart from the line of thought in which the government is followed, it is

necessary to address the concepts and accept them in various fields. Gender justice is one of these concepts that should be considered as the basis of policy-making, planning and development plans, and each institution should address this issue and pay extensive attention to it based on its macro-policies. In other words, to examine and analyze gender justice in detail, all policies on gender relations should be analyzed to consider the different realities of women and men

This study addresses the function of gender justice in government and executive institutions and seeks to answer this question: 'what are the main challenges of government and executive institutions in addressing this issue'. The present study examines this basic assumption: dual sources of legitimacy and legal barriers are major disadvantages in the face of gender justice. In fact, this study addresses the shortcomings, ambiguities and capabilities of government institutions and reinforcing and deterrent factors in dealing with gender justice so that it can provide a suitable context to promote this concept in this field.

2. Research Background

Research literature can be divided into internal and external sections. In the internal section, specific references for categorizing Persian works enable the researcher to evaluate the dimensions of gender justice research with high accuracy. Also, English research literature was carried out as much as possible with a focus on prominent sources related to the research topic. According to the results of evaluation and comparison of Persian and English research literature, there is a significant difference between the fundamental approach and the issue of gender justice regardless of the volume of production. In Persian literature, gender justice has been established within the framework of the Islamic model to prevent injustice and balance between the sexes, but English literature mainly evaluates this phenomenon as an evaluation process using a different approach, considering the roots creating gender inequality. Regardless of the issue, according to information sources, no relevant study has been carried out in foreign sources due to the type of statistical population that includes comparisons of governments of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and only the issue of gender equality has been considered in similar studies. Also, given that there is a wide range of perceptions in the explanation and generality of gender justice and its indicators in domestic sources, and because this concept is considered a challenging modern concept, there is not much background, and only a few research has been carried out in this regard, some examples are mentioned in the following section.

Sarah Douglas (2007) has carried out a study commissioned by the United Nations in 2007 entitled "Justice Programs and Gender Equality: Women's Access to Justice" addresses the main barriers to women's access to justice and indicates strategies and contexts for overcoming this challenge. He believes that the mainstream of gender is not recognized as a goal, but a strategy to achieve equality between men and women.

Khani (2009), in a study entitled "Analytical Framework in the Study of Gender Inequality in the World" has explained the structural problem of these indicators in terms of not paying attention to the structural patterns of societies while

examining important indicators of gender inequality. He has concluded that published sources in the world confirm the existence of gender inequalities and consider social factors as the main key to this inequality.

The Lutheran World Federation (2013) discusses the concept and criteria of gender equality from a public point of view and then describes its policies on gender equality and discusses its principles and methods of access.

Sandra Fredman (2015) in his study investigates the need of examining the concept of gender justice and related fields. He first examines the concept of gender justice and its scope, and then examines the context in which this policy is formed and addresses the need for related planning.

Sadegh Mirveisinik (2014) in his research entitled "Human Development and Gender Justice" has examined the most important theoretical assumptions of the Amartya Sen's capability Approach¹, its effects and its results in the field of gender justice. Amartya Sen focuses on development by empowering women by linking freedom, justice, and democracy. According to this approach, development must realize women's instrumental freedoms by focusing on women's empowerment and, subsequently, provide the right external conditions for their expression and elective power.

Zeinab Hashemi (2015) in her master's thesis entitled "Gender justice in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran from the perspective of labor law" tries to answer this question that what are the principles of gender justice in the constitution? In this study, she concludes that the lack of guarantee of implementation is one of the shortcomings in the field of gender justice in the constitution of our country.

Reza Safari Shali (2015) during a study entitled "Analysis of the Gender Justice Discourse in Bills and Economic, Social and Cultural Development Programs of the Islamic Republic of Iran" concludes that the floating signifier of social justice in the Islamic Revolution is blocked as a central signifier of gender justice and the main forms of women's empowerment, women's employment, women's security, and women's hijab and chastity are formed.

Parvin Alipour, Mohammad Javad Zahedi, Amir Maleki and Mohammad Reza Javadiyeganeh (2017) in their study entitled "Analysis of Gender Justice Discourse in the Sixth Five-Year Economic, Cultural and Social Development Plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran" concluded that the prevailing political and social discourses have a significant impact on the planning system in Iran and the place considered by these discourses for subjects and categories is represented in development plan.

As mentioned earlier, there is no research worked on the gender justice in the institutions of the Islamic Republic of Iran and no work carried on challenges of this approach in the executive institutions. In general, it can be concluded that according to the results of previous studies, policymakers need to eliminate any

1. The capability approach (also referred to as the capabilities approach) is a normative approach to human welfare that concentrates on the actual capability of persons to achieve their well-being rather than on their mere right or freedom to do so. It was conceived in the 1980s as an alternative approach to welfare economics.

gender discrimination and put the strategy of gender justice at the forefront of policy-making, both at national and international level.

3. Research methodology

From a methodological point of view, this study is an explanatory – description method on library-based data collection. The basic theoretical framework of this study is "institutionalism" and the content analysis¹ method used to analyze the data, which includes various stages of content determination, case determination, unit analysis and coding and analysis.

This study is considered as qualitative research that aims to achieve a deep understanding of the phenomena. Four indicators have been selected from given indicators as non-random and purposive sampling to provide us with strong information. Due to the qualitative nature of the research, the coding system of contextual theory has been used. In the research conducted by careful study of laws, bylaws and approvals and the intellectual tendency of the head of the institution in two specific periods, the categories were classified, compared, and merged with similar topics and coded.

The categorized categories were again categorized and compared based on the relationships between them as well as the significant relationship of the periods. All along the way, data collection and analysis were tried to be free of any bias. Data analysis and different stages of coding, including concepts, relevant categories, tables, and summary of concepts were fully and comprehensively explained. It should be noted that the two presidential terms of Khatami and Ahmadinejad constitute the statistical population of the study, leading to a period of 16 years.

4. Theoretical Foundations

The present study is based on the two concepts of gender justice and institution, provoking different approaches.

4-1. Conceptual Approach

Attention to gender justice has been at the forefront of planning for policymakers in various societies due to the increasing awareness of women as stakeholders in development and the identification of irreparable consequences of their elimination, and by addressing women's demands, more programs can be allocated to them. This has been strongly discussed in the beginning of the 1975s in the UN Development Discourse (Shafiee and Pourbagher, 2015). Gender justice consists of the two words: justice and gender. Justice has been used in the sense of proportion, equality, and fairness throughout history (Jones, 1988: 20).

The concept of justice is used as equality and sometimes fairness in developed and modern societies. Islam agrees with the proportional concept of justice, and in Islamic discourses, this concept becomes more and more consistent with justice wherever there is a talk on justice in Islamic discourses. In the Qur'an and hadiths,

1. Content analysis is a method of researching communication patterns. It can focus on words, subjects, and concepts in texts or images.

justice can be extracted both as proportion and as equality. In the Qur'an, observance of justice is mentioned as equality (Surah An-Nisa: 129). In the Islamic approach, justice is achieved in the light of the difference between rights, duties and responsibilities, and this most important aspect of the difference between men and women goes back to the purposefulness of creation based on divine wisdom.

Gender in the composition of gender justice not only explains the difference between men and women, but also has a political and social charge that has received much attention in modern and feminist discourses today (Tonkiss, 2006: 147), because the requirement of gender justice is that people do not feel frustrated because of their gender due to inability to achieve their dignity (Attarzadeh, 2009: 229).

The issue of gender in Islam can be examined from two perspectives: Traditional Islamic scholars who reject the similarities between men and women and believe that because the natural talents bestowed on the two sexes are different, the natural rights of the two cannot be the same (Tabatabai, 2005: 323). Modern Islamists, on the other hand, believe that the Qur'an emphasizes the principle of equality of all human beings and patriarchy and gender discrimination is rejected from the perspective of Islam. According to the Islamic approach, the existential value of men and women in the presence of God is the same and neither of them have superiority over the other, and legal differences are required for their different structures (Badran, 1389: 30-35).

There are different approaches to achieving justice in the international community. The gender difference approach has considered the differences in the nature of men and women and believes that differences should be applied in the rights and duties of citizenship of each group, but in the meantime more attention has been paid to the favorable policy of women. The multi-gender approach acts as an intermediary between the two approaches and seeks to create equal opportunities between them by considering gender differences and enables women to stand up to the patriarchal system as a social group (Phillips, 1993: 75).

4-2. Theoretical Framework

This study is based on institutionalist perspective which considers institutions as an independent variable. According to the institutionalist perspective, institutions play an important role in the process and results of social and political actions in the creating new actors, in shaping the political strategies of actors. New institutionalism emphasizes the role of institutions in the distribution of power and emphasizes the role of institutions in the success or failure of policies, the path that institutions shape the power relations between rival groups in society, and especially the political process and political decision-making within institutions (Kazemi , 2014: 7).

Therefore, by combining the view of institutionalism and feminist theory, it can be concluded that this view emphasizes the inclusion of gender in the heart of all institutions and systems of thought and values (Abniki, 2007) and believes that the a comprehensive plan and paying attention to the system and structure in

which programs are implemented, are necessary to achieve the desired result and women must also participate with men in the process of designing, implementing and monitoring and evaluating the policies and programs of the country and this can't be done except by equipping women and men to participate at various levels of decision-making by governmental and public institutions and organizations (Varzgar, 2002).

5. International Indices of Gender Equality

Indicators of gender equality are developed and evaluated by international and regional institutions and organizations with the aim of eliminating any discrimination at the international and regional level. They are measured in 4 axes. By measuring them, they examine their quality in countries, regions and the international system and determine the pathologies of countries in this field. These indicators prioritize qualitative goals in their planning and policy-making, which indicates their importance in the field of global planning.

5-1. Education Index

This index is measured by the ratio of female to male students in each educational level (Zarshaki, 2016). However, this index is introduced in the Islamic Republic of Iran entitled the Education and Research Index and three sub-indices of educational access in different academic levels, number of resources of the educational and research system in different academic levels, and access to education.

5-2. Economic Participation Index

In the international system, this index consists of several sub-indices of male and female unemployment rate, level of economic activity and equal pay for equal work¹ (Gharakhani, 2005), while in the Islamic Republic of Iran, labor and economy index, indicators of economic participation, activity status, underemployment has been introduced.

5-3. Health Index

At the international level, this index pays attention to the manner and extent of distribution of health and medical facilities and women's inappropriate lifestyle, including sedentary, poor nutrition, high stress, inappropriate work and leisure patterns, anxiety and high-risk sexual behaviors (Ahmadnia, 2016: 186).

Also, this index is localized in the Islamic Republic of Iran and is known as health and fitness index and sub-indicators of life expectancy, death of children and mothers, access to health services, and sports activities.

1. Equal pay for equal work is the concept of labor rights that individuals doing the same work should receive the same remuneration. It is most commonly used in the context of sexual discrimination, in relation to the gender pay gap.

5-4. Political index

At the international level, this index is known as the index of presence in the political arena and refers to the presence of women in the political arena and the extent and distribution of women's political power. Some of its components include the presence in important decision-making positions in the public sector and presence in important decision-making positions in civil society (Hajipour, 2016: 234). However, this index is introduced in the Islamic Republic of Iran as an index of political participation and decision-making and sub-indicators of women's participation and decision-making and management, women's participation in elections.

Each year, these indices are calculated for 145 countries based on data from International Labor Organization and Human Development Report .When the calculated index is closer to one, it means more equality.

Indices of gender equality at the international and regional level are compiled and evaluated by international and regional institutions and organizations for countries. However, national indices are defined by each country, considering international indices according to the culture and laws of that country. But the problem that the Islamic Republic of Iran has faced so far in introducing the indices is that if it uses the international indices as a criterion, it will be confronted in the country because the main basis of international indices is gender equality and the elimination of any discrimination. However, the international perspective cannot be neglected in the discussion of gender, and therefore the Islamic Republic must both introduce religious values in introducing the indices and be able to argue these indicators in a way that is internationally accepted. That is, the balance between levels is of particular importance.

The National Headquarters for Women and the Family, by launching a specialized working group in this field and taking advantage of the views of experts and documents, has localized indices appropriate to social, cultural, and economic needs. These indices have now been increased to eight indices namely, work and economy, education and research, political participation and decision-making, health and well-being, population and family, culture and society, rights and security, and social support. These 8 indices have been expanded to 25 components at the lower level.

Given that the national indicators introduced have not yet been approved at the international and regional levels, in this study, gender justice is generally based on four international indices which is presented in the form of a table below(Table 1).

Ahmadinejad's Presidency	Khatami's Presidency	Index
-Reducing active female volunteers in politics and reducing female electors -Reducing job opportunities for general managers and active female managers	-Government's attempt to have a strong presence of women in the political arena -Increasing job opportunities in the ranks of general managers and female deputies and consultants -Strive for the presence of women in the decision-making at the middle layers of the country - Supporting active NGOs in the field of women -Establishment of a center for women's participation	Political participation and decision-making

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Increasing the maternity leave of working women -Amendment of the article in relation to the share of women's inheritance -Reducing employment and increasing the unemployment rate of women -Organizing home jobs for women heads of households and - women having bad households . 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government efforts to have a strong presence of women in the field of labor economy - Increase of employment and reduction of the unemployment rate for women - Establishment of a center for women's participation - Establishment of Charter of Women's Rights and Responsibilities in the Islamic Republic of Iran 	<p>Labor and economics</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Planning to reduce working hours for working women -Reducing the presence of women in the press and reducing publications related to women -Establishment of the National Headquarters for Women and the Family -Supporting women heads of households affected -Establishment of family counseling centers -Implementation of housewives insurance -Compilation of a national document on the security of women and children in social relations -Social insurance for women heads of households -Strategies to promote women's health -Development of sports culture -Increasing of the rehabilitation and support coverage of the disabled and women heads of households 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of the Center for Women's Studies -Expanding the activities of the Women's Cultural and Social Council -Providing women with access to sports facilities and places -Resolution to meet the needs and cultural and social bottlenecks of women -Expanding international cooperation through the establishment of scientific centers and joining regional and international women's assemblies Facilitating women's legal and judicial affairs -Improving the leisure time of women and girls 	<p>Culture and society</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reducing fields of study in women's higher education -Review of educational programs according to the role of girls and boys -Increasing education and training opportunities for both sexes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Increasing the scientific and educational context for women -Promoting women's participation in higher education 	<p>Education and Research</p>

Table 1: Gender Equality during Khatami and Ahmadinejad’s Presidencies

6. Gender Justice Status in the Government Institutions

The government institution refers to the structures that operate in its own form the concept of governance in the sense that the supreme power of the state is responsible for legislating and enforcing the law (Tolouei, 1994: 413). In other words, the government, through certain instances, extends and pursues its legal authority in the society on this basis, and consequently the legislative and executive institutions can take the necessary legislative and executive steps in the field of gender justice indicators, including: 1) Constitution, 2) Macro policies, 3) Ordinary laws approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly, 3) 5-year development plans of the country, 4) Regulations approved by the government, 5) Approvals of the Revolutionary Council and the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution.

6-1. Constitution

By stipulating the rights of women and recognizing their widespread presence in society, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran has provided the opportunity for the growth of personality and the flourishing of their talents in

various areas of society. (Shaterian, 2005: 155). The constitution has dealt with this issue repeatedly and indirectly in the third, fifth, sixth, 28th, 29th, 30th, 43rd, 46th, 47th, 59th, 62nd, 109th, 113th, 115th principles. Of course, Articles 19, 20, and 21 explicitly address the gender justice approach and the elimination of any gender-based discrimination and inequality (Shaterian, 2005: 125). Despite these measures, in some of the current laws of the Islamic Republic in various fields, there are regulations that indicate differences between men and women, but most of these regulations have a religious and jurisprudential basis that challenge the Islamic view (Rostami Tabrizi, 2012: 5). Given that, according to Article 110 of the Constitution, the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran are formulated after consulting with the Expediency Council as an institution, no independent macro policy is found in this field, and so far, no independent macro policy has been approved by the Expediency Council. Accordingly, one of the most important legislative institutions in the country has been practically inattentive to the issue of gender justice and its characteristics.

6-2. Ordinary Laws

According to Article 71 of the Constitution, Majlis is responsible for approving these laws, although, the presence of women representatives in the parliament has a significant impact on the adoption and approval of laws related to them (Nila, 2009: 65). The impact of this presence has been sometimes direct (presentation of a plan by women representatives on women) and sometimes indirect (support of women-related plans in parliamentary committees). It should be noted that almost all the parliamentary resolutions regarding women in the period (1978 to 1996) have been about ensuring women's social and family rights.

According to the results of the studies, the most important axes of the parliament's resolutions are the issue of social security, social protection, the establishment of pensions, legal issues such as divorce and marriage, employment and related issues that have become ordinary laws. In the two presidential terms of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-2003), which coincided with the Majlis of seventh and eighth, despite the presence of more women as representatives than in previous terms, Majlis did not take effective steps in the field of women's law, which undoubtedly, the government's view on this issue and its lack of attention to women's issues is an important factor in this regard. Undoubtedly, it can be noted that the activities of the parliament and the government did not meet the expectations of the constitution regarding women's rights and the struggle for gender justice.

6-3. Government By-Laws

These by-laws are approved by the government or the cabinet and should be consistent with the general provisions of the constitution. These by-laws are formulated by the executive branch and for better implementation of the laws approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Vice Presidential Department, 2010). Therefore, definition provided on the concept of gender justice and choosing the approach of the government and the president as the head of

government in relation with this issue has a significant effect on their approval. The government focused on reformism and transformation from a discourse to an institution during the period 1984-2006, which expanding the adoption of government regulations was one of these institutional mechanisms. Although government regulations on women have been approved in previous governments, these regulations can be distinguished both in the number and quality of gender justice issues in presidential term of Khatami. However, unlike the previous government, in the presidential term of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad during 2006-2014, no important steps were taken in the field of approving regulations on women so that only six women-related regulations were approved.

6-4. Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution

Considering that the formulation of strategic cultural policies is one of the tasks of this council, therefore, the largest number of by-laws in the field of gender justice has been approved by this council. To moderate gender on the social and economic environment of the country, the council passed laws to create a new atmosphere in society so that women, like men, would be able to enjoy equal social and economic facilities and opportunities. The aim of this policy has been creating a platform for attracting more women in the cultural, social, and economic activities of the country and has obliged the administrative bodies and institutions to provide the necessary bases in this field. It is worth mentioning that since the activity of this council is chaired by the president, the ruling discourse of each government in this legislative body finds its way and manifests itself in the enactment of cultural laws. The Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution has also played a key role in institutionalizing the discourse of political development in the government by approving the cultural and social issues of women through the hegemony and domination of the discourse of political development and the pivotal role of women in the executive institution of the government. The Council has proposed the establishment of the International Affairs Committee for Women's Cultural and Social Council with the aim of introducing Muslim women as role models and the active presence of Iranian women in Islamic organizations and international forums. However, the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution under the chairmanship of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad did not have a significant performance in the field of women and its issues between 2005 and 2013, and the total number of resolutions of this council in the field of women in this period was only 6 resolutions. Of these, only 3 resolutions are related to the membership of individuals in the Cultural and Social Council.

6-5. Development Programs

Upstream documents are very important that outline the view and vision of the development and overall movement of the country for 5 years (Karami, 2012). The intellectual discourse that governs the governments and the political and social atmosphere of the country always shows itself in action in the 5-year plans. Of course, the discourse of governments has the potential to become

institutionalized. In fact, the Third Development Plan is associated with policy-making attitude based on the belief that women are more involved in the social, economic, and cultural spheres. In other words, the reform government, based on its intellectual discourse, created a new discourse that gradually manifested itself institutionally. Although the government has focused on reforming the view of women in the Third Development Plan, it cannot be said that the government has taken an effective step in the gender justice in this plan. The Fourth Plan has addressed the government's vision for gender justice for the first time. The government has also sought to institutionalize the status of women by increasing women's employment opportunities and career advancement, as well as gender composition in the workforce and the promotion of job skills that imply economic justice. This view can be seen in Article 111 of the Fourth Development Plan. Attention to gender justice in the Fourth Development Plan is much more and faster than the Third Development Plan, and the government did its best to implement its institutionalization and institutional vision in this area by using its legal capacity. The issue of women in the Third Development Plan was based on "gender neutrality" and in the Fourth Plan was based on "gender justice". The Fifth Development Plan, which was formulated and presented during the presidential term of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, includes eight articles on women. Examining the law of the Fifth Development Plan in the field of women, compared to the previous two development laws, it is clear that this program pays less attention to the issue of women and the macro approach of Ahmadinejad's government regarding the family is central.

6-6. Approach and Attitude of the Head of State and Government Officials

In many cases, the approach of the head of state in the form of law, regulations and decrees has an administrative and legal obligation. Accordingly, with the change of governments, in general, the approach and the way of governing the country in various issues will change. The issue of gender justice is one of the concepts that is no exception to this case. In the era of Mohammad Khatami, with the opening of a new political discourse, the view of gender justice as an important part of the country's civil development gradually came into focus. This approach was accompanied by many ups and downs in the next government. In Ahmadinejad's first administration, the view of women was different from that of Khatami, but in the second administration, women suddenly became more prominent. Their appointment to executive responsibilities in the ministry, for the first time, confirms this claim. The reflection of this kind of view and thinking of the government in the third, fourth and fifth development plans, government regulations and approvals of the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution is also fully reflected (Ghazi, 1991).

7. Capacities and Limitations of the Gender Justice Approach during 1998-2014

Institutional structure, while providing opportunities to implement or strengthen a particular policy, can be challenging or hindering another policy. Although a

plan or law may have been passed, those in power have not agreed to implement it, or even agreed not to implement it. Gender justice as a specific and macro policies can be a function of this process and pattern. Institutional structure can simultaneously provide opportunities to implement or strengthen a particular policy and challenge or impede another specific policy.

Although the capacity to achieve gender justice has been addressed in the Constitution (Articles 20 and 29) and referred to as institutional opportunities for gender justice, it has undergone changes in the field of implementation and practice. Therefore, acknowledging the legal shortcomings in this regard and considering the existing laws, the first challenge should be considered in the field of implementation and policy of executive institutions. As governments come to power with different slogans and approaches, this new perspective and approach in the field of implementation is on display. Governments selectively prioritize the principles of the Constitution according to their macro-policies.

During the years 1998-2006 and the reform government, the general approach of the government was the approach of participation and political development, and the activities in the field of women were in line with this approach and mostly with a political direction. 44% increase in the number of candidates for the Islamic Consultative Assembly in the sixth parliamentary elections compared to the previous round and with 11 women entering parliament, as well as 300 women in urban councils and 483 women in rural councils, creating a special women's organization in the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Defense, the General Directorate of Physical Education, as well as governorates across the country demonstrate this macro approach.

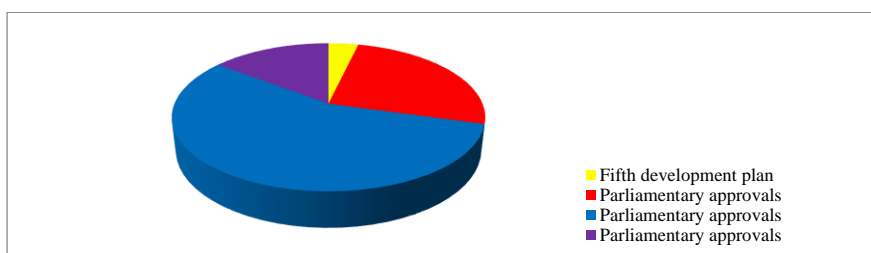


Figure 1- Governance institution with a gender justice approach (1998-2006)

However, in the period of 2006-2014, due to the new approach of the government based on religious justice, the role and position of women, was subject to this policy and based on the role of women in the family. This constant change of policies due to the change and transformation of governments in the field of action and implementation has been one of the most important institutional challenges to gender justice in the country.

Another institutional challenge in this area is the heterogeneity and difference of positions in decision-making and decision-making, and finally in the field of implementation. The multiplicity of power in the political system of the Islamic Republic of Iran due to the transfer of political power between different factions, especially the two main factions of reformism and fundamentalism, has

sometimes led to two different factions simultaneously assuming political power in government and parliament. This can be seen in most of the parliament in different periods. The years 1998-2006 coincided with the fifth parliament with 70.4% at the disposal of the right wing as the rival faction of the government, the sixth parliament with 65.5% at the disposal of the reformist faction, in line with the government and the seventh parliament with 67.6% at the disposal of the fundamentalist faction considered as the rival of the government. While the period of 2006-2014 and coinciding with the seventh parliaments with a majority of 67.6% and the eighth parliament with a majority of 74.8% and the final year with the ninth parliament with a majority of 69% at the disposal of the fundamentalist faction and in line with the government, we have witnessed the advancement of the government's approach in line with the parliament and its success in executive branch.

The different views and perspectives discussed on women's rights in society are the next institutional challenge, and it is still not possible to provide a comprehensive definition of gender justice in society.

Finally, the lack of equal attention to the dimensions of gender justice on various issues (unbalanced development) can seriously challenge the institutions; something that is often observed. According to the tables and graphs presented, a significant decrease has been observed in the opportunities of gender justice created by the mentioned government institutions in the years 2006-2014, except for the approvals of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, compared to the years 1998-2006.

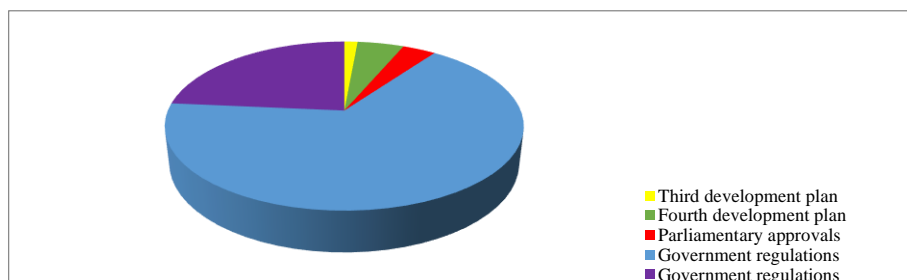


Figure 2- Governance institution with a gender justice approach (2006-2014)

In examining the indices of gender justice in the performance of the two governments (1376-1392) in government and executive institutions, the opportunities given to women in the constitution, development programs, parliamentary resolutions, government regulations, and the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution are included as an advantage in the target group of each index. Finally, it has been examined in relation to all similar cases of men and is placed on the chart and its distribution is determined.

The opportunities of the governance institution in the field of gender justice can be summarized in the two periods as follows:

Resolutions of the Cultural Revolution Council	Government regulations	Resolutions of parliament	Development plan	Period
16	61	9	7	1998-2006
33	93	10	9	2006-2014

Table 2- Examining the status of the governance institution based on opportunity in the presidential terms of Khatami and Ahmadinejad

As shown in the figures, a decreasing trend is observed in the opportunities and capacities created by the governance institution in the second term compared to the first term. This increase in gender justice opportunities in the Khatami era compared to the Ahmadinejad era, in addition to the field of legislation and approvals and regulations, is also evident in the executive sphere. Four indicators of political participation and decision-making, culture and society, education and research, work, and economy, which were examined and analyzed in the courses, were observed.

In the index of political participation and decision-making, the total number of female top managers in Khatami's government reached 50 and active managers in the public sector of the country reached 69,000. In Ahmadinejad's government, that number dropped to 47,000, and female top executives in the country dropped to 10. Also, the number of women volunteering to participate in the Islamic Consultative Assembly and elected by the people, in the Ahmadinejad era compared to the Khatami era, shows a decreasing trend. This decrease was due to the reduced opportunities in Ahmadinejad's government.

In the Culture and Society Index, the presence of women in the country's press was examined and it was observed that in Khatami's government, the emphasis was on the presence of women in the country's press, whether as a privileged and responsible manager, or as an employee and writer, or as topics related to women. During the Ahmadinejad era, we faced dealing with women's publications in the form of confiscation, deprivation of privileges, reprimands, warnings, budget cuts, and, consequently, a reduction in the number of women's publications and the number of their employees.

In the index of labor and economy, Khatami's period was divided into two parts, his first administration and his second administration. Although in the first term there was an increase in employment and a decrease in the unemployment rate of women, but from the second term of Khatami to the end of Ahmadinejad's governments, we are facing a process of decreasing employment and increasing female unemployment. Although the rate of women's economic participation has increased in the Ahmadinejad era compared to the Khatami era, this increase is largely due to the presence of women in the private sector. In other words, about 73.6% of women's employment during the Ahmadinejad era took place in the private sector, and the share of the public sector (government) in this area was about 24.5%, which was 39.6 in previous era.

In the Education and Research Index, the presence of women in higher education centers was examined and it was observed that despite the increase in the number of female volunteers and students in the country's universities during the Ahmadinejad era, the proportion of women, as well as the fields and universities where they can enter and benefit from education, has decreased.

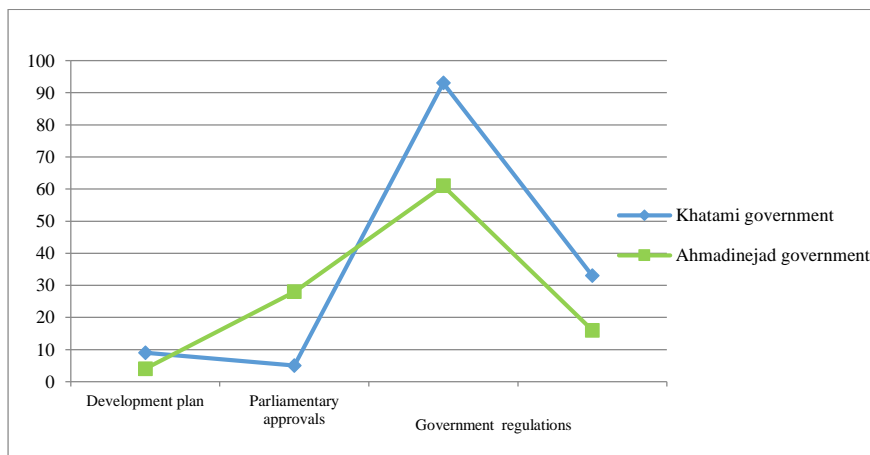


Figure 3-Comparison of the governance institution in the two governments of Khatami and Ahmadinejad with the approach of gender justice Resolutions of the Cultural Revolution Council

By comparing the statistics and analyzing them, a declining trend was observed in gender justice in the field of education and research, which was due to gender discrimination in universities and through laws such as gender quotas, localization, and deprivation of girls from education in any fields of study, as well as a sharp decline in the presence of women in the faculty of universities and higher education centers.

8- Conclusion

Gender justice is a very complex concept, and it makes sense when it can be turned into a policy by recognizing the plurality of ideas and knowledge of society. Achieving sustainable development requires that gender justice be formulated as a practical approach and strategy in the country's policymaking. The results of this research show that we have always witnessed a kind of justice without gender justice in government institutions, so that this justice, in its broadest sense, has remained barren within institutions. However, in the legal sense, there is legal justice and women are considered first class citizens, but they have no place in the political and social arena and in key and sensitive issues. Hence, it remains to be seen where the scope of gender justice is conceptually and in political institutions; where elimination, exclusion and injustice and breaking the law begin.

The study of the two governments in the Islamic Republic of Iran showed that pursuing gender justice as a strategy and a policy in different governments, causes the gaps in this area to be reduced so that we do not face a concentration of gaps. Lack of equal attention to the dimensions of gender justice in different issues

(unbalanced development) can seriously challenge institutions and in some cases exacerbate them, which is something that has been repeatedly observed in policy-making. Khatami's reformist government has not been unaffected by the new concepts of justice and has used it in a broader sense. By introducing a kind of feminist current, this government tried to pay attention to the justice between the sexes and its establishment, and to bring women from the margin to the centre. Although the move towards gender justice in the Khatami era has been more dramatic than in the Ahmadinejad era, overall, the structure of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a long way from achieving gender justice. In this pathology, this article considers the problem in the application and learning of this concept as something between minimum justice and maximum justice so that it can be pursued in practical strategy and policies as a policy.

At the end, it is suggested that the way to eliminate discrimination between men and women is utilizing those indicators that, while recognizing and defining the phenomenon correctly, can help us on the path to a secure society. That is, indicators should be considered in the direction of justice in proportion to the possibilities and prohibitions of both sexes. Therefore, it is necessary to increase the legal activities of the Ministry of Women and Family, use more capacity of authorities and modern scholars in seminaries to eliminate negative attitudes towards the presence of women in society, encourage the cooperation of government agencies to implement women's advocacy projects, using the capacities of radio and television and cyberspace and social networks in holding training courses to promote the cultural level and finally non-governmental organizations to monitor the introduced indices.

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